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IX.—THE LATIN AND THE ANGLO-SAXON
JULIANA.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, volume II for February, being volume V of the whole work, under date of February 16th, the assigned date of her martyrdom, we find two lives of St. Juliana, both edited by Bolland himself. One of these lives is by an anonymous author, and is edited from eleven MSS., collected by Bolland from various libraries duly specified; and the other is by a certain Peter, a sub-deacon, and is edited from MSS. at Naples and at Capua. This Life is dedicated by Peter to an "Egregio Patri Domno Petro sanctae Parthenopensis Ecclesiae optimo Pastori," at whose request it claims to have been written, and who is identified by Bolland with Peter, Archbishop of Naples, 1094–1111. If this identification is correct, the second Life is much later than the first; and it is written in a much more ornate and elaborate style, frequently interspersed with hexameter verses.

Cardinal Baronius, who edited the *Martyrologium Romanum* at Rome in 1586, after stating that the Acts of Juliana are extant in Metaphrastes, *i. e.*, Symeon Metaphrastes (of whom more hereafter), says: "We have the same in an old MS. translated from Greek into Latin by a certain Peter, who

addressed it to Peter, a Neapolitan bishop, as his preface informs us." But his preface does not state that he translated his work from Greek into Latin, unless we are to infer that from his words: "*Sed ejus passio propter incompōsitas dictiones in coetu fidelium legi minime praevalēt.*" It is barely possible that Peter may have spoken of the Greek original,—if he had one,—as *incompōsitas dictiones*, and so evidently Baronius understood him, but his Life seems to me to be based on the first Life, though written in a more elegant style, with some enlargement in certain parts. Symeon, however, the Byzantine hagiographer of the early tenth century, who lived to A. D. 965, *did* write in Greek, and has left us a very full Life of St. Juliana, which was translated into Latin by his editor Lip(p)oman, and incorporated by Surius into his work on the Lives of Saints. The Greek church, however, commemorates St. Juliana on December 21, her birthday. Symeon Metaphrastes may have drawn upon his imagination, as the older Latin writers did, but he has given us a very graphic picture of Juliana, her talks and her sufferings, her freedom from pain and her tears, that availed to quench the flames by which she was surrounded. (See Appendix II.)

But who was St. Juliana? In brief, she was the daughter of Africanus of Nicomedia, and was put to death, a martyr to her Christian faith, in the time of the Emperor Maximian, somewhere between A. D. 304 and 311, some think in 309. She had been betrothed to Eleusius in her ninth year, but in her eighteenth year, having become a Christian, she refused to marry him unless he too would renounce the heathen gods and embrace the religion of Christ. Her Acts include the various efforts made by Africanus and Eleusius to induce her to sacrifice and to renounce her God, both by persuasion and by punishments of various kinds—scourging, hanging by the hair, torturing on the wheel, and imprisonment in a dungeon, where she had a long interview with Satan arrayed as an angel of light; but, after prayer to God, she unmask the

deception, seizes and scourges the deceiver, and compels him to confess his various misdeeds as recounted in the Scriptures, and to beg for release. She is again summoned before the tribunal of the Prefect Eleusius, and leaves the prison, dragging the demon with her. She is still further tortured, but her constancy converts 130 men and women (or, if the omitted numeral is supplied after Metaphrastes, 500 men and 130 women) who are all beheaded by the Prefect under the orders of Maximian. Juliana is now plunged into a bath of molten lead, which leaves her uninjured but destroys 75 bystanders, and finally, as tortures have no effect, she is decapitated,—no remedy being found for the loss of a head.

It is very interesting to note the details of each of these Lives, their differences, their omissions and additions, each giving play for the individual writer's imagination, especially so the Life by Symeon, which is not found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but in the works of Symeon Metaphrastes, printed in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 114. The concluding sections of these Lives inform us that a certain woman of senatorial rank, Sophonia, or Sophronia, according to Peter, or Sophia, according to Symeon, journeying from Nicomedia to Rome, took with her the body of the Saint, and a tempest arising the ship was driven to Campania, to the territory of Puteoli (Pozzuoli), where she has a mausoleum one mile from the sea, as the first Life states. Peter still further informs us that, owing to imminent danger from the heathen (*imminente Ethnica feritate*), lest so great a treasure might be dishonored, her body was transferred to the city of Cumae and there placed in the basilica of herself and St. Maximus, where it does not cease to confer very many benefits to the glory of God on those seeking them even to this day.

A church was dedicated to her at Naples in 598 by order of Pope Gregory the Great. It was in the late *sixth* century that this translation was made to Cumae, and the body seems to have rested undisturbed there until 1207, when it was transferred to Naples, and placed in the convent of the nuns

of Santa Maria Donna Romita, who bore the expense of building a church in honor of St. Juliana. Neapolitan writers assert that the remains are still there, but nobody knows where they are hidden, and many other cities in Italy, Spain, the Low Countries, Germany, and France, claim to possess them, or parts of them as relics. Brussels is one of the most noted of these cities.

Bolland is more occupied with giving an account of these various translations of the body than with the origin of his MSS., about which we should like further information. He simply states that the Acts of St. Juliana are "very ancient," and were written while her body was still in the territory of Puteoli, not later than 568, the date of the Lombard invasion of Italy, and perhaps of the translation to Cumae. Hessels criticised these Acts very severely, pronouncing them to be false, and Bolland devotes much space to refuting his criticisms. He does not deny that scribes have added something to the Acts, but he affirms that they are extant in all the MS. Legendaries and Passionals, and that he has used the MSS. of the best character. Baillet calls it "a pitiable legend" and thinks that the most judicious *savants* would agree with Hessels.

That the meagre entries of the Martyrologies,—at first consisting merely of name, place, and date, compiled from the Calendars of the several churches,—were gradually added to, and at last comprehended voluminous Lives of the several Saints, more or less fictitious, is an undoubted fact; but even though these Lives are fictitious, they create a desire to know their origin. Nobody now blames Geoffrey of Monmouth for his additions to the life of King Arthur, even if William of Newberry, writing some fifty years later, did say "no one . . . can doubt how flagrantly and boldly he lies about almost everything."

Did time permit, it would be interesting to trace the references to St. Juliana in the Martyrologies, but we may make only a hasty summary. The Fragments left us by Eusebius

(Migne, vol. 20, of *Patr. Graec.*) do not contain her name, which is the more to be regretted because he was a contemporary, and would have known the facts. Baronius argues that the book of Eusebius on the martyrs was not a mere compendium such as at present exists. He holds that the first Martyrology was compiled in the time of "Pope Clement of Rome," *i. e.*, the close of the *first* century, but it is placed much later by others, *e. g.*, by Baillet, who states that it was compiled in the fourth century in the time of Pope Liberius (352-366). Baronius states that Pope Gregory the First (*c. A. D.* 600) had all the names written in one *MS.*, giving merely the name, place, and date of martyrdom. This is the form of the most ancient Martyrologies, as, for example, the *Martyrologium Vetustissimum*, the so-called Martyrology of St. Jerome (Migne, vol. 30, of *Patr. Lat.*),—though some deny his authorship,—which has under February 16, "Nicomediae, passio sanctae Julianae virginis et martyris," nothing more; and similarly in the *Liber Comitis*, also ascribed to St. Jerome, which has "Natale Sanctorum Onesimi et Julianae virginis," with the lessons for the day from the Book of Wisdom and from St. Matthew's Gospel. Beda (673-735) (Migne, vol. 94, of *Patr. Lat.*) is said to have been the first who added some particulars of the martyrdom of each saint. We have in Migne two texts of Beda's prose work, but in the existing form it is thought to have received additions from the work of Florus.¹ Beda's *Martyrologium Poeticum* contains under February *one* line

[¹ Beda and Ado, with slight corrections, read as follows: "Et in Cumis natale sanctae Julianae virginis, quae tempore Maximiani imperatoris, primo a suo patre Africano caesa, et graviter cruciata, et a praefecto Eleusio, quem sponsum habuerat, nuda virgis caesa, et a capillis suspensa, et plumbo soluto capite perfusa, et rursus in carcerem recepta, ubi palam cum diabolo confligit, et rursus evocata, rotarum tormenta, flammas ignium, ollam ferventem superavit, ac decollatione capitis martyrium consummavit. Quae passa est quidem in Nicomedia, sed post paucum tempus Deo disponente in Campaniam translata."]

referring to her (xiv Kal. Mart.): "Sic Juliana et bisseptenas ornat honore" (Migne, vol. 123, of *Patr. Lat.*).

The Martyrology of *Ado*, Archbishop of Vienne (Migne, vols. 123, 124), who flourished in the ninth century, follows Beda almost *verbatim*. Usuard, of St. Germain des Près, Ado's contemporary, is more concise: "Civitate Cumis sanctae Julianae virginis, quae post varia tormenta, et carceris custodiam, palam cum diabolo confluxit. Dein flammis ignium et ollam superans ferventem, capitis decollatione martyrium consummavit."

But while the Martyrologies give us in very brief outline the particulars of the martyrdom, we have no complete Life, such as those published in the *Acta Sanctorum* and in Symeon's works. How then did such Lives originate and at what early period? It is plain that such Lives were very popular. In the dearth of literature they served as the novels of the Middle Ages, and were read for the entertainment, as well as for the spiritual improvement, of the monks and nuns. In addition to the authorized Lives false Lives arose, and the Church endeavored in vain to repress them.

Baillet tells us in the "Discours sur l'histoire de la Vie des Saints," prefixed to his *Les Vies des Saints* (4 vols., folio, Paris, 1701), that the Council of Constantinople in 692 condemned to the fire all the false histories of martyrs, and anathematized all who received them, or gave them credence. He informs us further that St. Ceran (Ceraunius) of Paris, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century under Lothair II., undertook to collect the Acts of the martyrs, and spared no pains to have copies made of those that were in the different churches of France. So, also, St. Prix (Præjectus) of Clermont in Auvergne, who lived fifty years after Ceran, not only collected the ancient Acts, but composed new ones. St. Aldhelm, too, of Sherborne, England, who died in 709, made extracts from the Acts of some of the martyrs for his works on the praise of virginity. Unfortunately he does not mention St. Juliana. We see, however, by the use that

Aldhelm made of them, as Baillet says, that the false or falsified Acts of Saints of the most distant provinces of Asia were already current in the West in his time and had even reached England. He remarks further that almost all the histories turned into fables in the hands of those who treated them; the most conscientious thought themselves compelled to consecrate even falsehood to truth and to use pious impositions to the greatest glory of God. The Acts of Saints were brought into the Missals and Breviaries, and read just as the Epistle and the Gospel in the churches of the West. They had been brought into the Martyrologies still earlier. Baillet's work is published with the approbation and privilege of the King (Louis XIV), and is dedicated to his Eminence, Monseigneur le Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, so there is no question as to his orthodoxy. Much else of interest is found in this "Discours" of Baillet, but these quotations are sufficient to show that as early as the seventh century collections of the Acts of martyrs were made, both genuine and spurious, and that MSS. of these Acts had even reached England. Hence an English poet, who desired to extol in verse the praises of any particular saint, had at hand a Latin Life of that saint, and it did not become him to be very critical as to the truth or falsity of its contents.

As far as we can judge, the first Life of St. Juliana, published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, is the oldest, and must have served as the model, and MSS. of this Life must have been scattered through the monasteries of the Continent and of England. Such a MS. Beda must have had access to, and after him Cynewulf, who based upon it the Old English poem *Juliana*, certainly composed by him, for he has left his name imbedded in it in Runic letters, as in the *Christ*, the *Elene*, and the *Fates of the Apostles*. This is not the occasion to go into the question of the time of Cynewulf and of his genuine works, but we shall not go far wrong if we take him to have been a Northumbrian of the second half of the eighth century. He may easily have been acquainted with the

works of Aldhelm and of Beda, and with their sources. If a man's name in his work means anything, he certainly wrote the *Juliana*, and a close comparison of his work with the first Latin Life of the *Acta Sanctorum* shows that he must have had such a Latin MS. to draw upon as his source. I shall not undertake now to read and to explain this minute and more or less technical comparison, but it has been made (see Appendix I), and with the result that, while Cynewulf at times omits and condenses, at times expands and dresses up the thoughts in poetical phraseology, and introduces allusions to native customs, he sometimes translates expressions *verbatim*, and with the poem in hand one can follow the Latin from beginning to end, and be convinced that he had no other source than a Latin Life similar to the one above-mentioned; all differences can be easily explained as due to his poetical imagination.

The work of Cynewulf is naturally the earliest English Life of St. Juliana, and we have to come down to the thirteenth century before we meet with another. It was in this century that the *Legenda Aurea* was compiled, but the Life of St. Juliana in that work is very brief, a mere epitome of the incidents, so that a translation of it is an incomplete Life. There is no English translation, as far as I know, of these Latin Lives of St. Juliana, or of the Greek of Symeon (*i. e.*, judging from the bibliographies in Brunet (1865) and in Lowndes (1860)), and we must resort to the originals to see with what skill, and often with what force, the writers of the Saints' Lives have embellished their meagre incidents. Peter is not satisfied with following the older Life in stating that Eleusius wrote to Maximian to inquire how the converted should be treated, and that Maximian replied that they must be beheaded, but he gives us in so many words the letters of each in full, as if he had access to the original documents. But did not Thucydides and Livy do likewise in their histories? Saints' literature in modern English seems to be very scanty, but we had much

of it in Middle English. Rev. Alban Butler's *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints* (best ed., 12 vols., 1812 ff. ; 1st ed., 5 vols., 1745) gives us a very brief account of St. Juliana (vol. II, p. 163), and he remarks that "Her Acts in Bollandus deserve no notice." On the contrary, I think that they deserve considerable notice, although we by no means pin our faith to them as to the truth of history. Baring-Gould, in his *Lives of Saints* (13 vols., 2d ed., 1872 ; 3d ed., 1898), is somewhat fuller as to our Saint (2d ed., vol. II, p. 316), but he too thinks it necessary to warn us that "The Acts are not to be trusted. They have apparently been interpolated by those who were not satisfied with their original brevity." Even so, but we are very thankful to the original interpolator, whoever he was, for having given us a most graphic and interesting picture of the faith and perseverance of a saint, who attracts us by her beauty of person and of character, who triumphs over all her enemies, her father, her espoused, and even the Devil himself, who converts hundreds by the example of her constancy amidst the most excruciating tortures, whom not even a bath of molten lead could harm, and who succumbs only to the inevitable axe.

Further, as to the value of the *Lives of Saints*, Horstmann, who, by his several publications, has made the Middle English Legendaries a province peculiarly his own, comments in his Preface to the *South English Legendary* (E. E. T. Society, 1887) on the neglect that these Lives have experienced at the hands of English writers, and argues for a wider knowledge of them, saying in conclusion (p. xii) : "So the collection deserves attention not only from a hagiologic, but also from a poetic and literary point of view. In publishing it, we only pay a just debt to the past." The Laud ms., which he prints, does not contain the Life of St. Juliana, but he gives the contents of some half-dozen others which do contain it. He supports his own opinion by quoting in a Note (p. xi) from Rénan's *History of Israel*, I, Preface : Les légendes des Saints, pour la plupart, ne sont pas historiques, et néanmoins elles

sont merveilleusement instructives pour ce qui tient à la couleur des temps et aux mœurs." These Middle English legends of saints depend for the most part on the *Legenda Aurea*, but we must go back to the Latin Lives for the earliest ones. The Middle English Life of St. Juliana is, however, a wide subject and must be postponed for a future occasion. It is sufficient if we have made better known the form that Cynewulf must have used for his poem. Cynewulf seems to have tried his 'prentice hand on the *Juliana*, and a part of his poem is lost, but what we have left is sufficient to enable us to judge of the treatment of his source, and of the incipient poetic power which was to be still further developed in his later works.

APPENDIX I.

The following Appendix contains a close comparison of the poem of Cynewulf with the original Latin by sections. It will give an illustration of the manner in which Cynewulf condenses and expands his source. It is manifest that, as stated above, the poet had before him a Latin Life similar to the first one printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Doubtless if a search were made through the collections of mss. of the Lives of Saints in England, such a Life could be found, for Bolland had access to eleven such mss. collected from different libraries on the Continent. The comparison shows that Cynewulf was not a slavish follower of his Latin text, but that he worked independently.

Comparison of Cynewulf's Juliana with the first Life in the Acta Sanctorum.

§ 1. Cynewulf omits the few lines of Introduction beginning *Benignitas Salvatoris nostri*. He expands lines 1-17 on the persecution of the Christians from the few lines, *Denique temporibus Maximiani Imperatoris persecutoris Christianae re-*

ligionis; lines 17–26, about the power and wealth of Eleusius, are expanded from the brief statement, *erat quidam senator in civitate Nicomedia* (which Cynewulf calls *Commedia*) *nomine Eleusius, amicus Imperatoris*, which appellation is omitted; lines 26–37 are expanded from, *Hic desponsaverat quandam puellam nobili genere ortam, nomine Julianam*, and from the following description of Juliana; but the statements as to her father and mother are omitted, that her father Africanus was a persecutor of the Christians, and that her mother was joined with neither the Christians nor the pagans; lines 37–57 are expanded from the statement that Eleusius was eager for the nuptials, with additions about his wealth, but omission of Juliana's first condition: *Nisi dignitatem praefecturae administraveris, nullo modo tibi possum conjungi*. Eleusius fulfilled this condition by giving money to the Emperor, only to be met by the answer to his messengers that he must believe in her God, and worship Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (which is paraphrased by Cynewulf), and the remainder of Juliana's reply is expanded from, *Quod si nolueris, quaere tibi aliam uxorem*,—a much more succinct answer.

§ 2. Lines 58–77 are expanded from the brief statement, *Audiens haec Praefectus vocavit patrem ejus, et dixit ei omnia verba quae ei mandaverat Juliana*. Here we have the graphic touches of the battle-warriors leaning their spears together, and Eleusius holding his spear, before his speech, which is narrated more effectively in the first person; lines 77–88 are a forcible expansion of the speech of Africanus: *Per misericordes et amatores hominum Deos, quod si vera sunt haec verba, tradam eam tibi*; lines 89–104 expand in Cynewulf's manner,—with further reference to the wealth of Eleusius, which was evidently a powerful attraction,—the simple Latin words: *Filia una dulcissima Juliana, lux oculorum meorum* (exactly rendered *mīnra ēagna lēoht*), *quare non vis accipere Praefectum sponsum tuum? En vero volo illi complere nuptias vestras*.

Lines 105–116 enlarge the simple repetition by Juliana of her previous condition of marriage. The allusion to “wealth” is here again an addition by Cynewulf.

Lines 117–129 are an expansion of the Latin, *Per misericordes Deos Apollinem et Dianam, quod si permanseris in his sermonibus, feris te tradam*. It will be observed that the oath “By Apollo and Diana” is turned into “By my life” (*gif mīn feorh leofað!*).

Lines 130–139 include two speeches of Juliana, the intermediate one of Africanus being omitted. Here Juliana swears, *Per Filium Dei vivi*, which is softened into “By my life!” (*bī mē lifgendre*) a second time.

Lines 140–160 expand the statement that Africanus at once ordered Juliana to be stripped and whipped, asking, *Quare non adoras Deos?* Juliana answering, *Non credo, non adoro, non sacrifico idolis surdis et mutis* (literally translated *dumbum and dēafum dēofolgielðum*); *sed adoro Jesum Christum, qui vixit semper et regnat in coelis*. The concluding lines introduce the names *Africanus* and *Heliseo* for *pater ejus* and *Præfector sponso ejus*.

§ 3. Lines 160–174 expand the Latin, but the first lines are almost literally translated. The Latin represents the Prefect as alone seeing her beauty; Cynewulf adds the people too. In *Eleusius’* speech, *dulcissima mea Juliana* is literally translated, but *sunnan scīma*, and *hwæt! þū glēm hafast, ginfæste giefte gēoguðhādes blæd*, are additions of Cynewulf with poetic touch. Cynewulf adds also *sōpum gielðum* to *si sacrificare nolueris*.

Lines 175–183 are an expansion of Juliana’s previous condition—*Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum* are rendered *wuldres God, gēsta scyppend, meotud moncynnes, in þæs meahtrum sind ā būtan ende ealle gesceafta*.

Cynewulf omits a short speech of the Prefect and Juliana’s reply, and a longer speech of each, the Prefect saying that, if he complied with her request to receive the spirit of God, the Emperor would appoint a successor and cut off his head, and

Juliana replying that, if he feared a mortal Emperor, how could he compel her to deny an immortal one; let him inflict his tortures; she believes in Him in whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob believed and were not confounded.

§ 4. Lines 184–208; 184–188 relate the scourging, but that it was with “four rods” (*quatuor virgis*) and by “three soldiers in turn” (*tres milites vicissim*) is not mentioned by Cynewulf; 189–208 contain the Prefect’s speech much expanded from the brief command to sacrifice to the great Diana, or by the great Apollo he would not spare her. Cynewulf always studiously avoids any mention of Apollo and Diana, so that these names do not occur in the poem.

Lines 209–224 are much expanded from the brief answer of Juliana: *Noli credere quod suasionibus tuis me revocare poteris a Domino meo Jesu Christo*.

Lines 225–235 describe the hanging by the hair for six hours (*per sex horas*) (literally rendered, *six tīda dægēs*), the taking down, and the leading to prison, but omit the injunction to sacrifice and Juliana’s refusal with the boast, *vincam mentem tuam inhumanam et faciam erubescere patrem tuum satanam*, the pouring of molten brass over her *a capite usque ad talos*, but *nihil ei nocuit*, and the binding of her limbs (*jussit ligamen per femora ejus mitti*), before casting her into prison.

§ 5. Lines 236–242 omit Juliana’s long prayer for help on entrance into prison, with its scriptural references to those who had been preserved in the midst of torments, and its imprecations on the Prefect and prayer that God’s power may be shown in her.

Cap. II, § 6. Lines 242–257 describe the coming of the demon, *nomine Belial* (name omitted by Cynewulf) in the form of an angel, and his attempt to persuade Juliana to sacrifice and escape the torture to come; these lines are but slightly expanded from the Latin.

In lines 258–266, Juliana’s inquiry and the devil’s answer are a slight expansion of the Latin, but *angelus Domini sum* is translated *verbatim*, *ic eom engel godes*.

Lines 267–288 give Juliana’s prayer to God, with omission of *ingemiscens amarissime* and *oculos suos levans ad coelum cum lacrimis*,—graphic touches that Cynewulf overlooks,—but in general the Latin is closely followed, especially the response of the voice to seize the demon that she may learn who he is;

§ 7, *tenuit Belial daemonem* is rendered *hēo ꝥæt dēofol genom*, but *facto Christi signaculo* is omitted. After 288 there is the loss of a leaf in the A.-S. MS. (part of section 7), which included the Latin from *et dixit ei: Dic mihi, quis es tu? et unde es? vel quis te misit ad me?* to *ego sum qui feci ab Herode infantes occidi*, inclusive; it comprises some twenty-five MS. lines, covering the Scriptural references to Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Job, the children of Israel, Isaiah, Nebuchadnezzar, the three children, Jerusalem, the slaying of the children by Herod, and the death of Judas. A peculiar word is in the devil’s reply: *Ego sum Belial daemon (quem aliqui Jopher Nigrum vocant)*. [This sentence is omitted in Grein’s Latin.]

Lines 289–315 follow the Latin quite closely, with some expansion, but with omission of the names *Petrus et Paulus* in connection with Simon Magus, and with insertion of the name *Hegias* in connection with Andrew.

§ 8. Lines 315–344 include four short questions of Juliana and three brief answers, with one long one, from the demon. The names *Satanas* and *Beelzebub* of the Latin are omitted by Cynewulf.

Lines 345–417 cover Juliana’s short command, *Ad quae opera justa proficiscimini*, *narra mihi*, and the demon’s long answer (§ 9), which follows the Latin quite closely, but with some expansion. The specific references to hearing the Holy Scriptures and partaking of “the divine mystery” are omitted by Cynewulf.

§ 10. Lines 417–428 are an expansion of Juliana’s question: *Immunde spiritus, quomodo praesumis Christianis te admiscere?*, with addition of the reference to “Christ” and to the “pit of hell” (*helle sēað*).

Lines 428–453 comprise the demon's reply, a partial paraphrase of the Latin; *confidis in Christum* is rendered *þū in ēcne god getrēowdes*. Certain exclamations are omitted, and the threat by the demon to accuse Juliana to his father; the allusions to the cross are inserted.

Here follows the binding of the demon by Juliana and the scourging with one of her chains, which are omitted by Cynewulf; also the exclamation of the demon and the adjuration, *per passionem Domini Jesu Christi, miserere infelicitati meae!*

§ 11. Lines 454–460 are an expansion of Juliana's command: *Confitere mihi, immunde spiritus, cui hominum injuriam fecisti?*

Lines 460–530, the speech of the devil, are a considerable expansion of the Latin, especially the combats, *bēore druncne*,—evidently a reminiscence of native customs,—and the allusions to Adam and Eve, but many literal translations identify the passage. The reference to the Temptation is omitted, and the final apostrophe: *O virginitas, quid contra nos armaris? O Joannes, quid contra nos virginitatem tuam ostendisti?*

§ 12. Lines 530–558 embrace the summoning of Juliana by the Prefect from prison, and the prayer of the demon to be dismissed,—close to the Latin with some omissions. She goes forth dragging the demon *per forum*, omitted by Cynewulf, and she casts him *in locum stercore plenum*, paraphrased by Cynewulf, *þýstra nēosan in sweartne grund*,—on *wīta forwyrd*.

Cap. III. After line 558 one or more pages are missing from the A.-S. MS. They comprised §§ 13–17 inclusive of the Latin, and contained the Prefect's question as to how she had overcome such tortures by incantations; Juliana's reply that Christ had sent His angel to strengthen her, and her exhortation to repentance; further tortures on the wheel with sharp swords, and by fire, which the angel of the Lord extinguished; Juliana's long prayer, and recounting of Old

Testament deliverances, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David,—the incarnation, betrayal, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension,—and a prayer for her own deliverance; the conversion of the executioners and others; the Prefect's report to Maximian and his order that the converts be beheaded; [500] men and 130 women are executed; the Prefect's order that Juliana be burnt alive; her prayer for aid, and the coming of the angel who scatters the fire, and Juliana stands uninjured.

Lines 559–568 comprise their praise of God and the coming of the angel.

§ 18. Lines 569–606 describe the rage of the Prefect and the bath of molten lead, which was to Juliana *sicut balneum bene temperatum*; the leaping forth of the vessel and the destruction of seventy-five bystanders; the further anger of the Prefect and the cursing of his gods because they could not injure Juliana; and finally his sentence of decapitation; the Latin is here closely followed even to the number killed.

§ 19. Lines 607–634 comprise Juliana's rejoicing, the coming of the devil and his urging the executioners not to spare her; her looking at him and his flight, crying, *Heu me miserum!* &c. *Wā mē forworhtum*, &c.,—a close paraphrase of the Latin.

§ 20. Lines 635–671 comprise the exhortation addressed by Juliana to the converted and the other Christians present to build their houses on a firm rock, to watch against foes, and to pray for her,—close to the Latin. Her giving peace to all and final prayer for herself are omitted by Cynewulf; *decollata est* is poetically paraphrased, *Ðā hyre sǣwl wearð ālēded of tice tō þām langan gefēan purh sweordslege*.

[§ 21. Section 21, relating the bringing of Juliana's body by Sephonia from Nicomedia and the landing in Campania near Puteoli, where she has a mausoleum, is omitted by Cynewulf.]

§ 22. Lines 671–695 comprise the shipwreck of Eleusius and the loss of thirty-four men (the Latin has twenty-four), whose bodies, in the Latin, are devoured by birds and wild

beasts. Allusions to the wine-hall, the beer-seats, the rings and appled gold, are additions after native customs ; as also the burial of Juliana's body. The date is omitted.

Lines 695-731 are a personal epilogue, sad and grave, appended by Cynewulf.

APPENDIX II.

Synopsis of the Life of St. Juliana in Symeon Metaphrastes.

The works of Symeon Metaphrastes, who wröte his *Metaphrases*, or Lives of Saints, about A. D. 914, are found in volume 114 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, together with a Latin translation in parallel columns. The Life of St. Juliana extends from columns 1437-38 to columns 1451-52. The following brief synopsis will suffice for comparison with the Latin Lives in the *Acta Sanctorum* and with the Anglo-Saxon poem of Cynewulf.

Chapter I. Col. 1438. Mater vero erat in confinio utriusque, nempe et gentilium erroris simul et pietatis, et neutri tribuens plus quam alteri.

II. Col. 1439. πάντα λίθον κινήσας, cum omnem movisset lapidem ; καὶ πολλοῦ χρυσίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνησάμενος, et plurima pecunia emisset magistratum. Juliana made it a condition that Eleusius should gain the Prefecture, and after he obtained it, that he should worship her God, or ἐτέραν ξήτει τὴν συνοικήσουσαν, quaere aliam quae tecum habitet.

III. At this he became angry and informed her father. Africanus is very angry, but at first speaks gently. Dic mihi, inquit, filia charissima, et grata lux meorum oculorum. She repeats the condition to him. He swears by Apollo and Diana that he will cast her body to wild beasts and dogs. She welcomes death and he tries persuasion and blandishments.

IV. She persists in refusing to have anything to do with Eleusius unless he worships Christ. Africanus puts her in prison and returns at night, but she refuses to sacrifice and

worships Christ alone, so, after inflicting blows, he delivers her to Eleusius to use as he pleases.

V. Eleusius, overcome by her beauty, addresses her in soft words and begs for marriage. She refuses unless he is baptized. He declines because the Emperor would deprive him of honor and of life. She replies: If he fears a mortal king, should she not fear an immortal one, who has power over both body and soul? How should she be joined with His enemies? Let him do as he pleases, kill, deliver to fire, or wild beasts, flog, or what not, he is abominable to her.

VI. Eleusius is inflamed with anger and love, and orders her to be flogged until the scourgers are weary. He says, this is the beginning; "sacrifice to Diana." She replies that she is more ready to suffer punishment than he to inflict it. He orders her to be hanged by the hair until the skin is drawn from her head and her eyebrows to her forehead. He then addresses her again, love inducing him to think that he would persuade her.

VII. Effecting nothing, he orders iron plates, burning hot, to be applied to her shoulders and sides, her hands bound to her sides, and thus transfixed, she is led to prison. Lying on the ground, she prays to be delivered from her afflictions, as Daniel, the three children, and Thecla were from fire and wild beasts. "Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me; tu autem, Domine, ne recesseris a me. Overthrow my enemies as thou didst preserve Israel in the sea."

VIII. While she is thus praying, the enemy of all, feigning to be the angel of God, appears and tries to persuade her to sacrifice, for she cannot bear the punishments to come. She asks who he is, and he replies "the angel of God," who sends him that she may obey, and will pardon her on account of the weakness of the flesh. In terror and distress, her eyes being filled with tears, she prays that the evil one may not temper the bitter cup, but "show me who this is that pretends to be Thy servant." A voice is heard, "seize him and learn who he is."

IX. Her chains are loosed, and she seizes him as a slave, saying, "Who art thou, and whence, and by whom sent?" She flogs him, and he confesses that Satan sent him. He had deceived Eve, urged Cain, influenced Nebuchadnezzar, induced Herod to slay the children, and Judas to betrayal and hanging, and had caused the stoning of Stephen, and the killing of Peter and Paul. He persuaded the Hebrews to be idolaters, and made naught the wisdom of Solomon through his illicit loves.

X. Juliana binds him with more chains and inflicts more blows. He begs to be set free, and laments his calamity. He has deceived many and inflicted many evils on them. No one could overcome him; but she has put chains on him and inflicted blows. Was his father ignorant that nothing is more exalted than virginity, nothing stronger than the prayer of a martyr?

XI. The Prefect sends for Juliana to be brought before him, and she goes, dragging the demon. She stands before him in her original beauty, as if she had suffered no harm, but as if prepared for the bridal. He wants to know by what art she has effected this. She replies that it is no art, but divine power, which has made her more powerful than he and his father Satan. Christ has weakened their strength and prepared for him fire and hell and darkness and the worm.

XII. Eleusius prepares for her fire, a furnace filled with materials easily combustible, and they throw her in. She looks up to God and sheds tears, and these small drops extinguish the flame. All the people of Nicomedia are astonished at the miracle, and five hundred cry out with one voice and mind: "There is one God, the God of the martyr Juliana; we worship Him and renounce heathen worship; come sword, fire, or any other death." The Prefect orders them to be put to death, and there were also put to death one hundred and thirty women, "for they were not inferior to the men in piety."

XIII. The Prefect, burning with anger, orders a caldron to be prepared, and Juliana to be cast into it. Divine grace made it a bath for her, but a Chaldaean furnace for the attendants, for it suddenly rebounded and destroyed the bystanders; even the lictors were thus consumed. The Prefect was enraged because he could not overcome a girl, and tore his garments, and cried to his gods. As punishments were of no avail, but the constancy of the martyr was increased, he orders her to be beheaded.

XIV. The demon appears again, and, standing afar off, rejoices and urges on the lictors. Juliana looks at him, and crying out, "Woe is me! she wishes to seize me again," he vanishes. Juliana walks with eager face and glad eyes, talking with the attendants and persuading them that nothing is more precious than the love of Christ. She first prays, and then bends her neck to the blow, preserving the same joy of mind and showing no sadness.

XV. Sophia was by chance passing through Nicomedia and journeying to Rome. She took the sacred relics, and carrying them home erected a temple to the martyr worthy of her sufferings. Eleusius soon after suffers deserved punishment. As he was journeying by sea, a violent tempest arose, and the ship with his companions was sunk. He was reserved for a greater calamity, for being cast away in a desert place, he became food for dogs.

XVI. Such was the martyrdom of Juliana and such her end, for Christ attended her who had been espoused to Eleusius about her ninth year, but was the spouse of Christ and was joined to Him by martyrdom at the age of eighteen. Maximian was then king of the wicked, but our King, God and King of the faithful, is our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power "*nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*"

JAMES M. GARNETT.